

1834

SECOND

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED JANUARY 15, 1834.

—
WITH AN APPENDIX.
—

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.
1834.

OFFICERS OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

1840.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The second annual meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was held at Boylston Hall, on Wednesday evening, Jan. 15, 1834.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of Boston, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Aaron Pickett of Reading, Mass.

The Rev. Aaron Pickett and Capt. Jonas Parker of Reading, and Mr. Benjamin Brierly of Amesbury, appeared as Delegates from their respective Anti-Slavery Societies, and their credentials were read by the President.

The Report of the Board of Managers was read by Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., Corresponding Secretary; and also highly interesting letters from the following gentlemen—Arnold Buffum, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Samuel J. May, Brooklyn, Ct.; John G. Whittier, Esq., Haverhill, Mass.; and Rev. Elam Smalley of Franklin, Mass.

Horace P. Wakefield, Esq. of Reading, moved that the Report be accepted and printed under the direction of the Board of Managers.

He congratulated the Society upon the extraordinary advancement which the sacred cause of emancipation had made under its auspices. It was still going right onward; and no power could make it retrograde or stationary, but that which caused the shadow on the dial-plate of Ahaz to go backwards, and the sun to stay its course in the heavens.

Mr. Garrison said he rose simply to second the motion for printing the Report—not to make a speech. Three years ago, he told the base plunderers of his species, in the slaveholding States, that they should hear him, of him, and from him, in a tone and with a frequency that should make them tremble. How faithful he had been in the performance of his pledge, let a quickened, an astonished, and a repenting nation testify.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Phelps, of Boston, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the condition of the slaves in the United States is such as to make a strong appeal to the sympathy and benevolence of every friend of God and man.

Sir, said Mr. Phelps, in offering this resolution, it is my design to discuss the question of the slave's *treatment*. In so doing, however, I wish to say

distinctly, at the outset, that I do not do it because I suppose the question of the guilt or innocence of slavery is one of treatment merely. It is often so regarded and so discussed. Multitudes seem to imagine that if the slave be kindly treated, his servitude is all very well—there is little or no harm—little or no guilt in it. And nothing more is needed, than to assure them that the slave is thus treated, and all their sympathies are lulled to sleep in a moment. This, however, is a mistaken view of the subject. The question of slavery—its guilt or innocence—is not one of treatment, kind or cruel. It is solely a question of PRINCIPLE, and I wish it to be so understood at the outset. What is it to me, Sir, whether a man robs me in a polite, genteel, gentlemanly way, or in a way somewhat more ruffian-like? That alters not the fact that I am robbed, and that the man who does this, is a robber. He is none the less a robber from the fact of his being a genteel, gentlemanly one. The question in such a case is solely a question of principle—the principle of the thing, not of the manner in which it is done.

Sir, I am not going into the whole question of the treatment of the slaves. I will only take a single item—that of *whipping*. And here it should be borne in mind distinctly, that there are no laws at the south to prevent the master from inflicting any degree of cruelty on his slave—death itself even not excepted—if there be no white person present to witness and testify to the fact. Here are some fifteen different modes of whipping the slaves:

1. What is called *Picketing*—i. e. laying the slave prostrate, tying each hand and foot to a stake drove in the ground, and then whipping him on the bare back. And the whip, sir, you understand, consists of a short stout stick, with a long loaded lash, so that when used by an expert hand, every blow flays the skin from the flesh. Other modes of whipping are these.

2. *Tying the hands under the knees*, in such a way that the slave cannot help himself, and then whipping him at pleasure.

3. *Tying the slave over a barrel*, or something of the kind. One person said he had himself been whipped in this way until the skin was flayed from the flesh, from the small of his back to his thighs, in such a way that he was unable to sit down for several days.

4. *Cobbing*, as it is called. The individual in this case is stretched naked over a barrel, or something of the kind, and the blows are inflicted with a broad paddle, made of hard wood, smooth and perforated with holes of about half an inch in diameter.—At each blow, *every hole raises a blister!*

5. *Calting*. Here the individual is stretched on a ladder, and whipped as before on the bare back, at the pleasure and caprice of the master. Then a cat is taken and her claws drawn down the back, and sometimes the torment is consummated by washing the flayed back down with *salt-water!*

6. Sometimes their feet are fastened to ring-bolts in the floor, and the hands fastened to something overhead. One individual told me he had seen

the walls in the flogging room, in a cotton mill, where slaves were flogged in this way, *all bespattered with blood!*

7. Whipping in the stocks.

8. Whipping with walnut switches, heated in the fire. One said he had known a woman in Maryland, tied up in this way, and whipped on her bare back.

9. Slaves are sometimes tied up by their wrists, free from the ground, the feet fastened together, a heavy pole thrust between the legs, so as to increase the weight upon the wrists, and then whipped, hanging in that position.

10. The slave is made to stand off the length of the whip, and receive any number of lashes the master chooses to inflict.

11. A slave, for some cause, offered to strike a white man, was seized, arms extended and lashed to a stick thus, (+) and then whipped at the corners of the streets in one of the Southern cities. The whipping was repeated for four or five successive days.

12. A slave, who was a husband and father, was made to strip his wife and daughter, and whip them.

13. On the sugar plantations, the overseer, on Monday morning, makes examination to see if the task for the preceding week be done. If not, he lays down the driver and whips him. Then gives him the whip, and orders him to 'go through the field'—i. e. whip the gang.—And he must do it. He refuses at his peril.

14. The women they sometimes put astride a wooden horse, or something fixed for the purpose, breast to breast, and then inflict the blow on the bare back—*on the bare back of women, Sir!*

15. The last mode I shall mention is '*whipping them on spikes.*' A piece of plank is taken, perforated with holes, and sharp wooden pins or spikes inserted therein. This is laid on the floor, the slave is made to stand on it with bare feet, his hands are lashed together over his head, and drawn up just so that he must either rest his whole weight on the sharp wooden pins, or relieve himself by bending his knees and resting his weight on his wrists. In this position he is whipped. In one instance, said my informer, (an intelligent colored preacher,) I have known a man whipped in this way, and left tied up and standing on the pins, *during the whole night!*

And this, Sir, is the comfort of the slaves! These are the beings who are so happy, and contented, and comfortable! Ay, and the half is not yet told. This is mere physical suffering. Their moral condition! Oh, Sir, I have not time to dwell upon it; but to think of two millions and more of immortal souls—two millions lying at our very door, famishing for the bread of life—and yet, such are the laws, we may not, must not, at our peril, give them a single bible—not a morsel of that bread of life eternal! Sir, is not their condition one that makes an appeal, a heart-rending appeal, to the sympathy and benevolence of every friend of God and man? Yes, sir, it does; and however it may for a time be unheeded, rely upon it, it will be

heeded ere long. It will be felt. Slumbering sympathy will be aroused. The scales will fall from off the eye of American benevolence. And a tide of holy indignation will rise, and swell, and roll over this land, and sweep away every vestige of this accursed, abominable thing, and thus turn back from us the indignation and the judgments of a holy God.

Mr. Phelps's resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Perry, of Mendon, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the immediate Emancipationist is the true friend of the Slaveholders, of the Slaves, and of his Country.

In supporting this resolution, Mr. Perry forcibly remarked—

In his providence God has a voice to man, which none can fail to hear and understand but those who close their ears and steel their hearts against it. And by his providence he has made a proclamation of the sinfulness of slavery: and with that proclamation before me, I hesitate not to consider every pretended defence of slavery from the Bible as a refuge of lies, which will not bide the day of coming retribution. To that proclamation I appeal.

Why, I ask, the sterility that marks some of the fairest and loveliest portions of this fair and lovely land? What is the meaning of arsenals, arms, and a standing army, in the midst of a peaceful population? Why the fear with which the planter opens his door in the morning, and the caution with which he closes it at night? Why those fears which lead him to lock the door of knowledge, and hide the key from his slave? that close even the book of God to his enquiring gaze? Why do men go armed with dirk and pistol? Why the midnight patrol? Why does the fond father, while absent from home, tremble when he thinks of his wife, and children around their own fireside? Why the midnight shriek and the midnight carnage, which have already disturbed the quiet of half our land? Why, sir, these are tokens of the curse which a holy God has written out against oppression. They are His call to immediate repentance. They are the foretaste of coming retribution. And with such a proclamation of the guilt of slavery, shall we stop to reason with those, who, with the Bible in their hands, would fain persuade us that God sanctions slavery? Sir, *slavery is a sin*: and close upon its heels is treading a fearful retribution. And is it not the part of a friend, to urge the slaveholder to break off that sin by immediate repentance, and thus avert that coming retribution?

Sir, the conscientious Abolitionist may bear the name of '*reckless incendiary*;' but while my soul retains the perceptions of right and wrong, I shall deem him the true, though rejected friend of the slaveholder.

Jehovah is a God who hateth oppression—He will not long be trifled with. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve Him shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. God has long called us to *immediate repentance*; but we have sinned on, until as a nation our judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and our damnation slumbereth not. The dark cloud of God's vengeance is gathering over us. We have heard its distant rumblings, and seen the distant lightnings, and temporised and delayed repentance to a *more convenient time*. And now that cloud of wrath

hangs over our devoted land, and its thunders are breaking in upon our ears, and the lightnings of wrath are flashing around us. And soon, if we hold on in our guilt, it will *burst* upon our devoted heads, and sweep us away into forgetfulness with the guilty nations which have perished before us.

Mr. Perry's resolution was seconded by James C. Odiorne, and adopted.

The Society adjourned to meet at such time as the managers might appoint.

Pursuant to the adjournment, the Society met at the Temple, Tremont Street, on Monday evening, March 10, 1834.

Rev. E. M. P. Wells in the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of Salem.

Several appropriate hymns were sung with great taste and effect by a choir of colored children, under the direction of Miss Paul and the Misses Yates.

Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the rapid progress which the anti-slavery cause has made within the last two years, is attributable to the divine blessing upon the humble exertions and limited means put forth in its behalf, and encourages the expectation that the day is not far distant when complete deliverance shall be given to that portion of our countrymen now groaning in bondage.

At the close of his speech, Mr. Garrison said—

While God sits upon the throne of the universe, neither the oppressed nor their advocates are authorized to despair. It becomes us to humble ourselves, to exalt his truth, and to glorify his name, at the wonders he has wrought in public sentiment, by the feeblest instruments and the most limited means, within a short period. Let us see, Sir, whether our cause has given us any evidences that it is of God. What have we had to contend against?

A profound and universal moral lethargy, excessive and criminal fear, and total ignorance—All the venomous prejudices cherished toward the people of color—An earnest and general desire for the expulsion of our colored population, operating through a powerful combination—the American Colonization Society—All the wealth of the country—All the intellectual strength of the country—All the great and popular men of the country—All the religious denominations in the country—The legislatures of more than half of the States.

What is now the prospect?

A few pens, a few periodicals, a few tracts, and a few limited agencies, have electrified the nation, and already stirred up a mighty host to plead and labor for the oppressed. Our cause is rapidly getting complete supremacy in New-England. It has received an accession of wealth, of talent, of piety, and of unconquerable zeal, that ensures its speedy triumph. The American Colonization Society, that Babel of prejudice and wickedness, has been overthrown, and upon its ruins has been erected the American Anti-Slavery Society.

In addition to that Society and our own, we have a large number of male and female anti-slavery societies in various parts of our land, which embrace the names of thousands who are pledged to the doctrine of immediate emancipation. These societies are multiplying with a rapidity which is truly astonishing. The glorious cause of Temperance has not been more signally prospered than our own. These are but faint and imperfect outlines of the progress which the truth of God, and the humanity of the gospel, have made within the last three years.

Professor Charles Follen of Cambridge, offered the following resolutions :

Resolved, That this Society has for its sole object the abolition of slavery in the United States, without any reference to local interests, political parties, or religious sects.

Resolved, That it is the object of this Society so to direct public sentiment as to induce the slaveholders to liberate their slaves of their own accord, and to persuade the slaves to abstain from violent means, awaiting patiently the result of the peaceable measures employed by their friends for the restoration of their rights.

These resolutions were sustained in a truly admirable manner by the mover, and unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, of Salem, offered the following resolution, which he advocated in a powerful speech :

Resolved, That in view of the ignorance existing in New-England, on the subject of slavery, it is the duty of the ministers of Christ, of all denominations, to inform themselves in relation to its true character, and to use their exertions for its speedy and entire abolition, as the gospel of Jesus Christ shall direct them.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. Grew, of Boston, submitted the following resolution :

Resolved, That the apathy which has so long prevailed, and which still prevails in this favored land, in respect to the affecting woes of our colored brethren, in consequence of withholding from them their inalienable rights, is entirely incompatible with all the principles of republicanism, of humanity, and of our holy religion.

The remarks of the reverend gentleman, in support of his resolution, were in the highest degree solemn and impressive.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Yates, it was

Resolved, That the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society are anti-scriptural and anti-republican ; and therefore ought to be execrated by every lover of his country, and friend of the human family.

On motion of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the juvenile choir, and the ladies who have conducted it, for their very acceptable services this evening.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

REPORT.

It is now two years since the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. During that short period, many events, highly auspicious to the great cause of human rights in which it is engaged, have occurred. The success which has attended our society, and others that are engaged in the same benevolent enterprise, has been rapid far beyond our most sanguine expectations. A retrospect of the past year must, we think, satisfy every candid mind that this opinion is not erroneous.

The operations of the Society, during this period, have been very extensive, considering its limited means. A number of agents have been employed for various terms, in different parts of the country, who, we have every reason to believe, have been highly useful in diffusing correct opinions on the subject of slavery. Among these we mention Arnold Buffum, Oliver Johnson, and Orson S. Murray.

One of the Society's agents, Moses Hadley, was employed for some time in procuring subscribers to petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He obtained, we believe, more than twenty-five hundred signatures. A general feeling appears to pervade the community that this abominable system ought to be expelled from the seat of our government. A large number of petitions, in addition to those obtained by the society's agent, it is supposed will be presented to Congress at its present session for the same object. We have, it is true, little hope that any decisive measure will be adopted by that body during the present year. But bringing the subject under discussion there, will place it fairly before the nation, and lead to a full expression of that public opinion which really exists, and will never be satisfied until slavery in the District is abolished.

During the past year, a number of lectures on the subject of slavery have been delivered in Boston before the Society and large audiences, by the Rev. Mr. Phelps, and an address by the Rev. Mr. May. These discourses were listened to with deep interest. Mr. Phelps's lectures have just been issued from the press. Professor Wright also had several public discussions with Mr. Finley, on the merits of the Colonization Society, which we believe had a beneficial influence on the public mind.

During the year the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in connexion with the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Boston, has commenced the formation of an Anti-Slavery Library, called the Wilberforce Library. A number of volumes have already been procured by donation and purchase. This institution will, it is believed, prove a powerful instrument in aid of our cause.

The most important measure of the Society during the year, was sending Mr. Garrison to England. The objects of this mission were to solicit aid for the Manual Labor School for Colored Children contemplated by the Society, and to expose the principles and measures of the Colonization Society. In both these objects, the mission has been abundantly successful. Funds to a considerable amount have, in consequence of Mr. Garrison's exertions, been collected for the school, since he left England. The whole amount to be expected from this source is not yet known, but it is supposed that two or three thousand dollars will be realized.

Mr. Garrison, by his public and private labors in England, succeeded in convincing almost all the leading abolitionists in that country, of the injustice and absurdity of the schemes of the Colonization Society. The Protest which he obtained signed by a number of distinguished abolitionists in Britain, deserves great attention in this country as the honest expression of opinion of able men, far removed from the prejudices which operate in the United States. One of the last acts of the long, unstained, and glorious life of the venerable Wilberforce, was putting his name to this protest. We mention this circumstance, because an attempt has been made to represent him as favoring the

Colonization Society, by publishing a letter of his to Elliott Cresson, which was written some time before, at a time when he had adopted favorable impressions in regard to the Society, which fuller information led him to reverse.

During the year, the Society has been deprived by death of its venerable and excellent President, John Kenrick, Esq. He was a man of great benevolence and integrity. He had for many years before his death taken an active part in the anti-slavery cause.

‘In the year 1816, he published a small volume compiled by himself, entitled the “Horrors of Slavery.” This work is in two parts, the first chiefly composed of extracts from the speeches of British statesmen; the second chiefly of extracts from American writers. It contains also an introduction and concluding remarks by the compiler. He printed 3000 copies of the work at his own expense, which he distributed chiefly among the members of Congress, and of the State Legislatures, and other persons in the Northern and Western States.’*

He was a liberal benefactor of our Society, having given donations to it to the amount of six hundred dollars, including two hundred and fifty dollars to the Manual Labor School.

We trust that the example of this active and devoted philanthropist will animate the surviving members of our Society to renewed exertions in the glorious cause in which they are engaged.

The friends of the abolition of slavery in this country have been far more active during the past year than at any previous period, and are now, undoubtedly, more numerous and powerful than they ever have been. One of the strongest evidences of this fact, is the number of new anti-slavery societies that have been formed. The following are those, accounts of the formation of which have fallen under our notice.

MAINE.—Maine [Portland] Anti-Slavery Society; Bath do.; Waterville do.; Brunswick do.; Augusta do.; Hallowell do.; Portland Female do.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Plymouth do.

VERMONT.—Jamaica do.; Peacham do.; Cabot do.; Craftsbury do.; Waitsfield do.; Walden do.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Reading do.; Amherst College do.; Amesbury do.; Uxbridge do.; Lowell do.; Salem and Vicinity do.; Nantucket Colored

* From the Abolitionist.

do.; Boston Female do.; Reading Female do.; Amesbury Female do.: Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Association; Waltham Anti-Slavery Society.

RHODE ISLAND.—Providence do.; Pawtucket do.; Assonet do.

CONNECTICUT.—New Haven do.; Middletown do.; Plainfield and Vicinity do.; Pomfret do.

NEW YORK.—New York City do.; Oneida Institute do.; Rochester do.; Rochester Female do.; Hudson Female do.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Pittsburgh do.; Philadelphia Female do.

OHIO.—Vernon do.; New Garden do.; Medina do.; Western Reserve do.; Paint Valley do.; Lane Seminary do.

ILLINOIS.—Putnam County do.*

In addition to these, the last year has been rendered memorable by the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This institution was formed by a Convention at Philadelphia under most favorable auspices. Its proceedings are already before the public. The Declaration signed by its members, which has been published, exhibits the holy resolution of martyrs. It is difficult to estimate the effect which this Society is to have on the great cause of abolition. The members of the Convention which formed it, coming from all parts of the country, and all devoted to the work on which they had entered, had their hopes animated and their zeal invigorated by the meeting. Most, we believe all, of those whom we have seen, regard it as one of the most delightful events of their lives. We believe that this Society is to have a permanent and powerful influence in our country, not only from the character of the men who have formed it, but also from the principles which they have embraced. The great truths that to hold slaves is a sin, and therefore that slavery ought immediately to be abolished, are the foundations on which the American Society rests. Founded upon these true principles, its success is certain. It commends itself to the hearts and the consciences of the people.

We have not yet alluded to the event, which, more than all others which have happened during the year, important as they are, is to hasten the abolition of American slavery—we mean the act abolishing slavery in the Colonies of the British empire. This glorious work, for which so many philanthropists have prayed and labored so long, is at last accomplished. It is true that there are great defects in the measure—that the full enjoy-

* Some of these Societies have been organized since the Report was read.

ment of the rights of the emancipated slaves is delayed to them for some years, and that the plan of apprenticing them is liable to serious objections. But after making all deductions, we must admit that a great end has been gained. Eight hundred thousand fellow men, who were slaves, have become freemen.

‘This event,’ we borrow the words of a recent publication,* ‘is an era in the history of the British nation, to which its past records afford no parallel. When the memory of the bloody victories of Cressy and Agincourt, Blenheim and Waterloo, shall become dim in the lapse of ages, future generations of Britons will look back to the abolition of slavery as the brightest and most godlike act in the annals of their country. It is a triumph of the higher principles of our nature,—of justice and humanity, over selfishness, prejudice, and avarice.

‘The apparent apathy with which the news of an event so striking and momentous has been received in this country, would be surprising, if it were not that we had been prepared for the measure by slow and successive stages of information, so that long before the passage of the act was known, the result was considered certain.

‘The abolition of slavery in the British colonies, however, cannot be looked upon with unconcern in the United States. Though the restoration of their natural rights to eight hundred thousand men, however distant from us, is an event interesting on its own account, yet the effects which it is to produce in this and other slaveholding countries, are even more important. When the British king put his name to the statute for abolishing slavery in the colonies, he signed the death warrant of slavery throughout the civilized world.

‘In vain will slaveholders and their adherents attempt to resist the moral influence of Great Britain. The moral courage of the benevolent will be strengthened, the moral sensibility of the lukewarm will be roused, and the moral force of the great body of the people will be called into action, to exterminate at once and forever the system which has so long disgraced manhood and Christianity.’

* The Abolitionist for October, 1833.

Among the memorable proceedings of the last year must be ranked the persecution of a lady, Miss Prudence Crandall, for the heinous offence of keeping a school for colored females.

Miss Crandall, who had for some years kept a boarding school for young ladies in Canterbury, Connecticut, with considerable success, about a year ago determined to devote herself to the instruction of young ladies of color. Her intention having been announced, soon occasioned great excitement in the town. A town meeting was in consequence called, at which some violent proceedings took place, and resolutions denouncing the school were passed. Miss Crandall, having formed her plans deliberately, was not to be deterred from what she felt to be her duty, by any personal considerations. She established her school. Since that time, she has been subjected to a bitter persecution from the inhabitants of the town. They petitioned the legislature of the State, and through the influence of a leading man in the town, Andrew T. Judson, Esq., procured the passage of a statute in May last, making it a penal offence to establish any school for the instruction of colored persons not inhabitants of the State, or to instruct or board or harbor such persons coming into the State for the purpose of being instructed.

Miss Crandall, believing this law to be unconstitutional, as a violation of that clause of the constitution which gives the citizens of each state all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, did not hesitate in the course which she ought to adopt, but persevered in continuing her school.

She was, in consequence, arrested for a violation of the law, carried before a justice of the peace, by whom she was committed to jail, to take her trial at the next session of the County Court. She was there confined in the same room which the murderer Watkins had occupied during the last days of his life.* She was, however, only confined for one day, as bail was given

* There has been some dispute upon this subject. If our memory does not deceive us, Miss Crandall's friends having published that she had been confined in the same cell which Watkins had occupied, they were loudly accused of falsehood and misrepresentation. The fact, however, is as stated in the text, but it seems the persecutors of Miss Crandall think the apartment ought not to be called a *cell*. We confess ourselves unable to decide whether the room should be called a *cell* or not, but are ready to grant that the term is inappropriate, if that admission has any tendency to illustrate the humanity of her enemies.

for her the day after she was committed. At the ensuing session of the Court she was tried, but the jury did not agree.

She has since been indicted and convicted for a violation of the black law of Connecticut. And she and her younger sister have since been prosecuted for a further violation of the same law. From the judgment against her, she has appealed to a higher court. If the decision of the highest tribunal of the State should be finally against her, it is intended to carry the constitutional question before the Supreme Court of the United States. Whether free people of color are entitled to the protection of the constitution as citizens, is one of the most interesting and important questions, that has ever been agitated in the courts of law in our country, involving in its decision directly, the rights of three hundred thousand free people of color, and indirectly of more than two millions of slaves. That free people of color, born in the country, are citizens, would seem to us to admit of no dispute, had it not been doubted by respectable lawyers and judges in Connecticut.

In addition to the sufferings to which Miss Crandall has been exposed by these repeated prosecutions, she and her pupils have been subjected to numerous insults, injuries, and indignities from the petty malice of her neighbors. Her character has been traduced. Her property has been attacked and injured, her fences defaced, and her well filled up. She and her pupils have been denied admittance into the neighboring meeting house to attend public worship. For a time, all the traders in the place refused to sell any thing to her, so that she was compelled to send to a considerable distance for her necessary supplies. In short, every thing has been done to render the lives of herself and the inmates of her house uncomfortable.

Under all these disheartening circumstances, this lady has conducted herself with exemplary meekness, discretion, and fortitude. She has felt herself called on by Providence, to maintain the rights of the free people of color, and for this cause she has submitted unshrinkingly to the exposure of a public trial, imprisonment in a common jail, and all the other painful afflictions to which the malice of her enemies has exposed her.

The persecution of this lady, distressing as it must have been to herself and her friends, we regard as highly auspicious to the colored race. It has aided in bringing her school into notice. We are happy to state that this establishment is now in a very flourishing condition. She has, we are informed, about thirty pupils. This rapid success is probably to be ascribed in some degree to the persecution under which she has suffered. But this is not its only good effect. The infuriated proceedings of Canterbury, and of the legislature of Connecticut, have roused a general feeling of indignation, which must be beneficial to the colored race. The solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the constitutional question to be submitted to it, must also aid the same cause. And the general discussion of the rights and privileges of the people of color, and of the prejudices against them, must, if any thing can, rouse the American people to a sense of the cruelty and injustice with which they have so long treated this unfortunate race.

The last year has exhibited a rapidly increasing interest in this country in the rights of the slaves and people of color. This interest is not only proved by the number of anti-slavery societies formed, but by many other circumstances. More has probably been written and published on this subject during the last year, than in double the time at any preceding period, except perhaps during the agitation of the Missouri question. Several newspapers and periodicals, devoted entirely to the abolition of slavery and other connected topics, have been carried on during the year ; besides which many journals, chiefly occupied by other matter, have entered extensively into the discussion of these subjects.*

* The following is an imperfect list of Newspapers and periodicals in the United States which advocate the cause of abolition :—*Philanthropist*, Brownsville, Pa. ; *Observer*, Lowell, Mass. ; *State Journal*, Montpelier, Vt. ; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, Rochester, N. Y. ; *Working-man's Press*, New-Bedford, Mass. ; *Rights of Man*, Rochester, N. Y. ; *Free Press*, Hallowell, Me. ; *Gazette*, Haverhill, Mass. ; *Friend*, Philadelphia, Pa. ; *Emancipator*, New York City ; *Massachusetts Spy*, Worcester, Mass. ; *Unionist*, Brooklyn, Ct. ; *Record*, Lynn, Mass. ; *Evangelist*, New York City ; *Canonsburg Luminary*, Pa. ; *New-England Telegraph*, North Wrentham, Mass. ; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Washington, D. C. ; *Christian Watchman*, Boston, Mass. ; *Messenger*, Printer's Retreat, Indiana ; *Liberator*,

In addition to this, a number of separate works on the subject, of great merit and value, have recently appeared. Among them may be mentioned Paxton's *Letters on Slavery*, Wright's *Sin of Slavery*, Whittier's *Justice and Expediency*, Mrs. Child's *Appeal*, and Mr. Child's *Speech*.* Without going into any critical examination of these works, it is sufficient to say that they are admirably adapted to promote the great cause which they advocate. These works, and other valuable publications on Slavery, both British and American, have been widely circulated during the year.

Other facts might be stated in proof of the assertion, that the situation of the colored race excites an increasing attention in our country. In Lyceums, Debating Societies, and other public meetings, the comparative merits of the Anti-Slavery and Colonization schemes, and other similar questions, have been frequently brought under discussion. Nor is this all. Slavery has become a frequent topic of conversation throughout the country. In taverns, stages, and steamboats, the subject is constantly introduced. A great variety of opinions has, of course, been expressed. But the result of this increasing discussion is, that men of intelligence and virtue are almost daily becoming converts to anti-slavery opinions, or are rapidly approaching them.

The sympathy which has been exhibited towards the free people of color, for the last few years, has led them to feel a greater respect for themselves, and has excited them to great exertions to elevate their condition. Within a very short period, they have formed associations for mutual improvement in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, and in other places. The indications of rapid moral and intellectual advancement among this class of our fellow-citizens are numerous and encouraging.

Boston, Mass.; Palladium, Bethania, Pa.; Freeman, Greenfield, Mass.; Reporter, Watertown, N. Y.; Philanthropist, Providence, R. I.; Christian Secretary, Hartford, Ct.; We, the People, Plymouth, Mass.

* Mr. Phelps's Lectures have been published since the Report was written. The Managers cordially recommend this work, as well as those mentioned above, for general circulation.

The progress of anti-slavery principles has recently been very fully attested by the clamor raised against them at the South. Not only have their newspapers complained of Northern abolitionists, but even some of their governors have condescended to attack them.

The Managers have stated a few facts to show how fast the principles of the Society are gaining ground. Many others might have been mentioned. But enough have been adduced to prove that the whole country is gradually awakening to the evils of slavery, and the necessity of a remedy. The secret of this change lies in the truth of the doctrines held by abolitionists.

We contend that man can have no rightful property in man. From this great principle, we draw the conclusion that every slave has an immediate right to his freedom. Since he has this right, it becomes the duty of every master at once to emancipate all his slaves, and of all legislatures to make all bondmen within their jurisdiction free.

To this doctrine of immediate emancipation, many objections have been urged. It is said that though the slaves have a right to be free, yet still their masters have a valuable property in them, of which it would be cruel to deprive them. This objection is inconsistent enough. For if the slaves have a right to freedom, their masters can have no right to deprive them of it. But the right of slaves to be free is so plain, that very few, except slaveholders, ever think of blaming a slave for running away when he has an opportunity. And a person who should reproach a slave for his wickedness in running away, supposing the slave beyond the reach of his master's power, would only be laughed at.

But it is urged that it would be dangerous in the extreme to let loose two millions of ignorant and degraded men to prey upon society ; that they are incapable of enjoying freedom, and require to be kept under guardianship like children and idiots.

The objection deserves to be examined a little in detail. It evidently concedes that the slave is entitled to all the privileges of a freeman, which he can enjoy consistently with the safety of society and his own good. Does he then enjoy all these privileges ? Is he only restrained with a view to the safety of society and his own good ?

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that families should be separated in sales, parents torn from children, and wives from husbands ? No, certainly not. No one will pretend that thus to rend asunder the sacred ties of blood and affection, can render society more secure, or the slaves more happy. On the contrary, is it not evident that these cruel separations are tolerated solely from regard to the interests of slave-owners ? Is it not manifest that by violating the family relations of the slave, you take away one of the strongest pledges of his obedience ?

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that it should be lawful for them to be sent by compulsion from one part of the country to another ? Will it be pretended that you have promoted the earthly comfort of the slave, by tearing him from the home of his love in Maryland, and sending him to perish in the cultivation of the cane on the pestilential banks of the Mississippi ? Can it be said that the safety of society is promoted by such a measure, when it is notorious that these transported slaves excite the greatest apprehension in their new abodes, by their violence, plots, and insurrections ? No. The internal slave-trade in this country, which, in its principles, is as nefarious, and in its practice nearly as atrocious, as the African slave-trade, is tolerated solely because it promotes the pecuniary interests of the masters of slaves in Virginia and the other slave States.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be bought and sold at all ? No, certainly not. It may be for the pecuniary interest of the slaveholder to be able to sell his slaves. But the slaves themselves would evidently be more quiet and contented, supposing them still to continue to labor without wages, if they could be transferred only with the estates to which they belong, and could not be compelled to labor anywhere else.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be deprived of all personal rights, should be denied the right to hold property, and to maintain actions for injuries done them ? No, certainly not. At first sight, it seems that to give the slaves a secure property in their hard earnings gained by hours of extra exertion, and to allow them to appeal to the laws for redress when their persons or property were vio-

lated, would tend to make them more happy and contented. We should not suppose that they would be more dissatisfied, because their reasons for dissatisfaction were diminished.

But it is contended, and not without some show of reason, that the moment any rights are conferred on the slaves, they will begin to understand how valuable are the rights from which they are still debarred, and will never be contented till they have gained them all. We perceive the full force of the argument ; but it leads us to a conclusion directly opposite to that of those who urge it. The uneasiness of the slaves would not arise from some rights being conceded to them, but from others being denied them. We should therefore say, remove all cause of dissatisfaction, by granting them all the rights of white men.

Again, does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be liable to be flogged at the arbitrary discretion of their masters and overseers ? Again, we must answer, certainly not. The slaves would undoubtedly be much better satisfied, if they could only be punished by the order of a magistrate, after the hearing of the complaints against them. Perhaps it may be said, that if slaves could only be punished in this way, they would become indolent from not having the fear of a prompt application of the lash constantly before them. We are not prepared to admit that this would be the case, if all punishments were taken from the hands of the master ; but admit that it would be, it only shows that the pecuniary interests of the master would suffer from the change of system, not that society would be endangered by the excesses of the negroes, or that they themselves would be less contented.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that they should be compelled to labor without wages ? It cannot be pretended that the community would be unfavorably affected by having the negroes paid for their labor, except so far as it might make labor more expensive. But it seems obvious that a change of this kind would render the slaves more satisfied with their situation, and less likely to violate the peace of the community.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that to teach them to read and write should be made penal of-

fences ? No. It is not kindness to the slaves, it is not the safety of society, but love of slave property, and the safety of the slave system, which dictate the laws for this purpose.

Does the safety of society, or the good of the slaves, require that their offences should be punished with far greater severity, than the same acts when committed by white persons ?—

But it is needless to pursue these inquiries. It would be easy to examine every part of the existing system of slavery in the same manner. What has been already said, however, is sufficient to show that the objections against each particular change are not, in truth, that such a change would endanger the peace of society, or prove really injurious to the slave himself, but that it might occasion a pecuniary loss to slave owners, or help to undermine the whole system. It must be obvious that the cruel laws and the oppressive practices engendered by slavery, are defended not from any tender regard for the slave, but from a determination of slaveholders not to suffer their property to be impaired. The whole system, so far from being intended to protect the slave, is constructed for the manifest purpose of perpetuating itself, and maintaining the privileges of slave owners, regardless of the rights and feelings of their unfortunate victims.

Let the advocates of slavery point out any important parts of their laws, which are made with a single eye to the good of the slaves ; show the benevolent statutes which consider these ignorant and helpless men as wards under the guardianship of kind friends. It is a base and heartless mockery of the names of justice and benevolence, to claim their countenance for Southern oppression. It is monstrous to contend, as slaveholders do, that because the slaves are not fit to enjoy all the privileges of enlightened and intelligent freemen, therefore, their bloody statutes and atrocious cruelties are justified. Can any one doubt, for a moment, that if the majority of southern planters had a sincere desire of making their slaves free, they could accomplish the work without any danger ?

But it is urged that notwithstanding no objection may be apparent to some particular changes in the system of slavery, yet if the whole system should be overthrown at once, terrible dis-

asters would inevitably ensue—the slaves, freed from their present restraints and having no new ones in their place, would run riot, refuse to labor, and subsist by plundering the peaceable citizens. Let us admit this objection in its full force, and what is the conclusion? that injustice, cruelty, and oppression, are to be tolerated and fostered forever, because their abandonment may produce temporary evils?

Perhaps we have paid the arguments of slaveholders more attention than they really merit; for any one, who considers the subject of emancipation candidly, must, we think, be satisfied that our opponents, like other men who are defending themselves against charges which they are ashamed of, put forth not the reasons which really influence their conduct, but those which seem to them most likely to strike their antagonists. Thus, while slaveholders defend their perseverance in the present system on the ground of humanity, and the fear of creating disturbance by a change, the animating motive to their conduct is, with most of them, a sense of their own interest.

When abolitionists call for immediate emancipation, they do not mean that legislation should at once abandon all caution and discretion in carrying the measure into effect. They are far from denying that any restraints may be imposed upon the newly emancipated slaves, which their own good or the safety of society may require. They are contending for a great principle, namely, that colored men have equal natural rights with white men. They would applaud any Southern State, which conscientiously regulated its laws by this principle, even if it accompanied the gift of liberty with temporary restrictions which they could not approve.

It is not to be disputed that when a large number of persons are enfranchised at once, new and peculiar legislation would be required by the emergency. Under such circumstances, a strict police, and prompt and efficient modes of compelling able bodied vagrants to work, would probably be necessary. It might also be advisable to exclude ignorant blacks from the elective franchise. Any disabilities, however, peculiar to people of color, should be temporary. Indeed, there seems great reason for thinking that though the new laws would, from their character,

apply chiefly to people of color, yet the laws themselves should make no distinction between the white and colored races. Thus, instead of enacting that no colored person should be allowed to vote, who could not read and write, it would be well to provide that no person should be allowed to vote, who could not read and write. So, instead of empowering magistrates under certain circumstances to compel able bodied colored vagrants to labor, it would be well to give magistrates this power over all vagrants. By this sort of legislation, while society would be protected against the misconduct of the newly emancipated slaves, the laws would not regard them as a distinct and degraded caste—every colored man would be, in the eye of the law, equal to a white man.

Though this is not the place to enter into the details of legislative plans, it ought never to be forgotten, that emancipation would be a very imperfect measure, if provision were not at the same time made for the intellectual, moral, and religious education of newly emancipated slaves.

The opposers of slavery are not so unreasonable as to suppose that its abolition is to work a miracle, and prevent the evils which inevitably spring from ignorance and degradation. The southern States cannot by any legislation escape entirely the visitation of calamities, which the oppression of a great part of their population is calculated to produce. But by a change of system, they may avoid the greatest evils which now impend over them—they may preserve themselves from insurrection and bloodshed, and by a general diffusion of education through every part of society, may, in the course of years, enjoy the blessing of being filled with industrious, enlightened, and moral freemen.

Some of our friends say, Why insist on *immediate* emancipation? Leave out that word, and many would join your ranks, who now consider you visionary enthusiasts. But take away that word, and you take out the soul of our cause. You deprive it of its moral life and energy. If, as it has already been remarked, to hold slaves be a sin—to emancipate them immediately is a duty. If we admit that it is right to emancipate slaves gradually, we admit that to hold them for a time in their present state is not sinful.

We say that their natural rights are violated when they are made property, subjected to the arbitrary will of others, and made to work without wages, and we must claim for them immediate emancipation, until we shall see clearly that the safety of society and the good of the slaves can only be established by continuing their fetters. We say to the advocates of slavery, it is not sufficient for you to assert, in general terms, that emancipation would destroy the south and injure the negroes ; but you must prove it clearly, fully, and beyond doubt, before you have made out your case. The humanity of our law will not allow an individual to be put under guardianship on the ground of insanity, without giving him an opportunity of being heard, and every presumption is in favor of his competency to act for himself. And yet the friends of slavery would condemn two millions of persons and their descendants to abject servitude, on the bare suggestion of their incompetency to take care of themselves,—a suggestion which all history contradicts.

We entreat the friends of human rights, for we cannot here enter into a detail of facts which would fill a volume—we intreat them to examine carefully the history of the abolition of slavery wherever it has taken place, in our Northern States, in Mexico, in Hayti, and we are satisfied that the more thoroughly they examine the facts, the more will they be convinced of the safety of immediate emancipation.

The argument which is most frequently and seriously urged against all attacks upon slavery from this quarter, is, that the citizens of the Northern States have no right to interfere with the Southern States—that slavery is their business—and no concern of ours.

This argument deserves a passing notice—not from its intrinsic difficulty, but from the warmth and confidence with which it is advanced, and the influence which it apparently has upon the minds of many conscientious persons.

The position which abolitionists in this country assume is not generally understood. They claim for the United States government the power of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories, and of putting an end to the slave-trade between the States, as rights clearly vested in the govern

ment by the Constitution.* But they have never asserted or intimated, it is believed, that Congress had any power to abolish slavery in the Southern States, or to legislate respecting their slaves, except in regard to the slave-trade carried on between the States.

They do, however, claim the right to express their opinions on the subject of slavery in the Southern States, freely and openly, and to address to slaveholders every fair argument in regard to it, which they think calculated to produce in them a change of principles and practice. They claim the right to remonstrate and expostulate with slaveholders on their conduct, and to declare the criminality of owning or dealing in human flesh and blood.

This right of attempting to exert a moral influence upon our southern brethren, is claimed by abolitionists on many grounds. They are freemen, and the freedom of the press is guarantied to them by the constitution; and they consider the subject of slavery no more beyond the limits of legitimate discussion, than any other topic of legislation or morals. This right they would claim, even if the Southern States were occupied by foreign nations. They think there is no impropriety in discussing the law of primogeniture, or the benefit of a reformed parliament in

* The Constitution gives Congress the power 'to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.' The jurisdiction of Congress over the District of Columbia, which was obtained for the seat of government under this provision, does not admit of dispute.

Congress has also power by the constitution, 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.' The slave-trade carried on between the States, evidently falls within this provision. It is under this provision that Congress had power to prohibit the foreign slave-trade. The constitution in the next section declares that 'the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight: but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.' This is a declaration of the constitution that, without this exception, Congress under the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, would have had an immediate right to abolish the foreign slave-trade. The right to abolish the slave-trade between the States follows as clearly from the power to regulate commerce among the States.

The power of Congress over the territories is given in explicit language by the 3d Section of the third Article of the Constitution.

England. May they not discuss similar questions in relation to their own country ?

But many considerations occur which render exertions to put down slavery at the South by moral means, not merely a right, but a duty. The Northern States suffer directly from the existence of slavery at the South. The institution is the perpetual source of jealousy and irritation between the two sections of the country. No true harmony can subsist between them as long as it exists. If the Union is divided, slavery will be the cause of the rupture. The moral sensibility of the people of the North is constantly shocked by seeing runaway slaves, who have entered on their territories, carried back to the South : it would be still more wounded should they be called on to march to the South to quell an insurrection of the slaves, as they are liable to be under the Constitution. Besides all this, the moral principles of a large part of the citizens of the North in regard to slavery, are corrupted and impaired by the contagion of Southern example. Too many at the North apologize for slaveholding, forgetting that it is a sin, in language current at the South. Has not every one here a right to attempt to reform the morals of his fellow citizens ?

Not only is slavery at the South sustained by the moral influence of the North, but the riches of the North are the greatest supports of the system. When we consume the cotton, the tobacco, and the rice of the South, are we not contributing to maintain slavery ? If we and others did not purchase the productions of the planters, would they continue to raise them ? It is true, they sell a part of their productions to foreign nations, but as far as we purchase them, we support the slave system. The slave who cultivates the cotton which we wear, or the rice which we eat, works for us as really, as if we were his owners or overseers, and drove him to his daily toil.

It is not necessary, in this place, to adduce all the particular reasons which justify the exertions making to extend at the North, correct opinions in regard to slavery. The society justifies them on the broad ground of a common humanity. In whatever part of the globe we see men suffering from poverty, ignorance, or oppression, they are entitled to our sympathy and compassion,

and our duty to assist in improving their condition, is only limited by our means of usefulness.

Great good, it is believed, may be effected in the Southern States by the exertions of this and kindred Societies. It is therefore a duty to continue these exertions. A strong hostility to slavery is already growing up in some of the Southern States, among a large part of the white population. It would be increased by a powerful expression of opinion on the subject from the North. Nay, it is believed that if the great mass of the population at the North were to adopt Christian principles on the subject of slavery, and to assert them boldly, it would strike the fetters from the slaves as certainly, as if the Northern States had the power of legislating for the South. In a country like ours, enjoying throughout a common language, and frequent and rapid means of communication, moral principles spread like other opinions. Slavery exists at the South, because the North has adopted the low standard of Southern morality on the subject. Let the North correct its opinions, and the reform must extend to the South. We do great injustice to our Southern brethren, if we suppose that they will all be obstinately deaf to the appeals of justice and humanity. The consciences of many of them may be roused and their principles corrected, if a loud voice from the North should direct their attention to the subject of slavery. We do injustice to our religion in doubting its power, to convince men of the iniquity of holding their fellow men in bondage. %

Suppose that the opinions of the Northern States should be changed, and that all the members of Congress from the Northern States, following the people, should be convinced that slaveholding is a sin, and that the slaves have a right to immediate freedom, and should express these convictions with the frequency and earnestness which would be almost unavoidable in such a case, could slavery, under these circumstances, continue for many years in the Southern States ?

It is, however, insisted that the measures of anti-slavery societies tend to produce disaffection and insurrections among the slaves. No one who has fairly examined the publications of these associations in this country will pretend that they have any

design to excite the slaves to outrage and violence : the utmost that can be charged against them is, that their course has a tendency to produce this effect.

It is not necessary to deny that the exertions of anti-slavery societies may have, in some degree, the tendency which is ascribed to them, and yet when the nature and amount of this tendency is considered, the objection deserves little attention.

Astronomy teaches us that every particle of matter in creation attracts every other particle. If we should assert that the fixed star Sirius not only tended, but did in fact, affect the motion of the earth in its orbit, no philosopher probably would dispute the truth of the assertion ; but yet this effect is so slight and inappreciable as never to be taken into account in astronomical calculations. So it is with anti-slavery movements, though their tendency to excite servile insurrections may be indisputable, yet this tendency is so unimportant that it ought to be entirely disregarded by any one who wishes to ascertain the efficient causes of the undeniable disaffection of the slave population.

Every thing that the slave sees or hears which leads him to compare his condition with that of a freeman, or to reflect upon his wrongs and sufferings, every thing which fans for a moment in his bosom the love of liberty, a flame which is never extinguished, has a tendency to excite disaffection and revolt. The very names of liberty and freedom, a statue of Washington, a fourth of July celebration, a history of the revolution, an account of the free schools of New England, the Bible—nay, the very west wind which braces his limbs, and invigorates his body,—may any one of them serve as a spark to kindle an unquenchable conflagration. But these good things are not to be blamed as the great causes of the mischief. No. It is in vain to deny it, the chief, the only important cause of the slaves violating the peace of society, is the oppression under which they are groaning. Plots and insurrections are its natural and inevitable results. They have frequently taken place in this country before anti-slavery Societies were formed, and they will still continue to take place until slavery is abolished, whether the subject is discussed at the North or not. It is most unjust to accuse anti-slavery Societies of being the causes of evils, which they merely

predict ; and endeavor to conceal the true causes—injustice and oppression.

The publications of these Societies are branded as incendiary, but publications which are ten-fold more inflammatory are freely circulated in the Southern States, with the approbation of their governments. If it is thought that pamphlets and newspapers in which slavery is attacked, on being read by slaves, (very few of whom, by the way, can read,) would excite them against their masters, one would suppose that the slave codes of Virginia and South Carolina, written, as they are, in blood, would drive them to acts of frenzy and desperation.

The Managers might say much more in vindication of the measures and principles of the Society, but to embrace every thing which the subject demands, would require volumes. They again congratulate their friends on the auspicious situation of the great cause in which they are engaged. They may be sure that Heaven smiles upon it, and that no exertion to promote it will be lost. The final success of truth and justice is certain. Every one who will devote himself to the object, can do something to promote its more speedy accomplishment.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

New-England Anti-Slavery Society in account with James C. Odiorne, Treasurer.

1833.	<i>Dr.</i>		
April.	To cash paid W. L. Garrison, for expenses in part of his mission to England	-	\$380,00
Oct.	Cash paid sundry Agents	- - -	904,80
	Cash paid for printing	- - -	454,00
	Paid for use of Halls for public meetings		106,25
	Incidental expenses	- - -	47,57
Dec.	Balance on hand	- - - -	266,21
			\$2158,83.

1833.	<i>Cr.</i>		
Jan.	By balance of last year's account	-	\$ 9,24
	Annual assessments from members	-	164,00
	Cash received to constitute Life Members		240,00
Feb.	Cash received of John Kenrick, Esq. towards Manual Labor School fund	- -	250,00
Dec.	Cash collected by Agents	- -	496,00
	Maine Anti-Slavery Society	- -	100,00
	Other Anti-Slavery Societies	- -	59,86
	Contributed at public meetings	- -	107,61
	Publications sold	- - -	17,50
	Sundry small donations	- - -	304,62
	Amount of a loan to the Society	- -	410,00
			\$2158,83

JAMES C. ORDIORNE, *Treasurer.*

Boston, January 14, 1834.

BOSTON, JANUARY 15, 1834.

I certify that I have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched.

JOHN S. WILLIAMS, *Auditor.*

APPENDIX.

MISSION TO ENGLAND.

Extracts from Mr. Garrison's Report to the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

IN obedience to a resolution of the Board of Managers, passed March 7, 1833, I left New York in the packet ship *Hibernia*, Capt. Wilson, on the 1st of May ensuing, for Liverpool, and arrived at the latter port on the 22d of the same month.

Two great objects were embraced in the mission—first, the obtainment of funds for the establishment of a Manual Labor School for Colored Youth—and, secondly, an exposure of the real character of the American Colonization Society to the people of England. An incidental object was to gain the acquaintance and secure the correspondence of the leading philanthropists of that country, and to accumulate such anti-slavery periodicals and tracts as had been instrumentally blessed to the advancement of the great cause of human rights. Each of these objects was deemed of sufficient importance to authorize the mission; but, owing to the limited means of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, my private instructions from the Board forbade a protracted visit, unless I were successful in procuring funds for the School, or unless circumstances scarcely anticipated should seem to require delay.

The subject of the mission was agitated by the Board as early as November, 1832. Aware of their desire that I should appear as their representative in England, it was not until after the most extensive consultation among the friends of emancipation—the strictest personal examination—the most enlarged survey of the whole ground of duty—and the most earnest supplications for Divine guidance—that I felt willing to acquiesce in their decision. From the first moment that the enterprise was projected, it appeared to me not only desirable but imperative. A clear acquittal of the anti-slavery party in this country from blame, and a prompt discharge of duty toward that party in England, evidently demanded just such a mission. An agent of the American Colonization Society had been travelling nearly three years in its behalf, and by his misrepresentations had extensively succeeded in making the British public believe that its primary object was *the emancipation of all the slaves in the United States*. Hailing

it, therefore, as a grand ABOLITION SOCIETY, they had liberally contributed to its funds, and given its advocate the right hand of fellowship. To have permitted this deception to prevail, without making strenuous efforts to remove it, would have been a base connivance at dishonesty. Epistolary correspondence would not answer. The urgency of the case was such as to require something more than apocryphal and private testimony. A living agent, speaking by authority and clothed with official power, was needed to insure the triumph of TRUTH and HONESTY OVER FALSEHOOD and FRAUD.

But, although I was persuaded of the necessity of the mission, I came very slowly, nay, reluctantly to the conclusion, that it was my duty to embark for England and engage in this sacred strife. The task was a mighty one, and painfully and unfeignedly did I feel my incompetency to meet it. It was unpleasant, moreover, to engage in a contest which must assume, positively and unavoidably, an invidious and personal aspect. Humble as was the post which I filled, the thought of even a temporary abandonment of it filled me with disquietude. I desired to remain in the battle-field at home, where the peril was imminent, where blows fell fast, where personal exertions were so much needed, and where the movements of the enemy could be readily perceived and counteracted. But other considerations arose to outweigh these:—Either I must go, or the mission must be abandoned at least for a time, because no other person could be found willing to assume its responsibilities. Occurrences had conspired to identify me with the anti-slavery cause in the United States, and, consequently, my name and exertions had become more familiar to the leading abolitionists in England, than perhaps those of any other individual: this was a desirable and signal advantage. Moreover, no one was better acquainted with the principles, or had more narrowly watched the tendencies of the American Colonization Society, than myself; and as it was not a brilliant display of talent, but a simple exhibition of truth, which the mission exacted, I felt reconciled to a separation from my friends in the discharge of a high and solemn trust.

I have made these explanatory remarks, because justice to the Board and to myself seems to require them as proofs of the caution, deliberation, and wisdom, with which the mission was undertaken.

In a Report like the present, it will be difficult to shun the appearance of personal hostility and personal egotism. References to Mr. Elliott Cresson (the agent of the American Colonization Society) and myself must be frequent, but they shall be as dispassionate and unostentatious as practicable.

Agreeably to my instructions, on landing at Liverpool I called at the hospitable dwelling of JAMES CROPPER,—the distinguished friend of the human race,—but failed to see him, as he was then in London. His sons, however, received me with great cordiality, by whom I was introduced to several worthy friends of both sexes, all of whom hailed my visit as singularly providential. Having tarried in Liverpool three or four days, by their

advice I hastened to 'the capital city of mankind,' in order to lay my credentials before the Anti-Slavery Society, and to secure its advice and co-operation.

Before I proceed to state my reception in London, I wish to indulge in a brief but delightful episode.

Travellers have told us that in England, (and so throughout Europe,) the malignant prejudices which reign in this country against persons of a colored or black complexion, do not exist; or, if cherished at all, they are scarcely perceptible and practically inert. This assertion has never been denied, except by such of our countrymen as have remained always at home, and who, filled with these prejudices and deeming them incurable, are democratically and religiously persuaded that white men and black men never can and never ought to live together on terms of equality. For myself, I had three good reasons for believing the report; and these were drawn from our oppression of our colored population, and their consequent debasement and servitude. First; the wonderful variety of shades which were observable in the complexions of that population proved that there was no mutual repugnance to *color* between the white and sable races: the amalgamation was voluntary and reciprocal. Second; every day brought me indubitable evidence that black people became offensive only as they became enlightened and independent: if they were servants or slaves, they found no difficulty in procuring seats in stage coaches, or in freely mingling with the passengers on board of steam-boats, or in serving at the tables of the fastidious and opulent. Persons seldom thought of disliking their complexion, or quarrelling with their presence, under such circumstances. But whenever they appeared in a handsome garb, in a dignified mien, as intelligent and wealthy citizens, they invariably excited the ridicule of their white contemners, and were rudely thrust out from all the conveniences and privileges of society; the pretence for such treatment being found in their color. Third; as the African race had not been subjected to slavery in Europe, and as 'men naturally hate those whom they have injured,' I was not surprised to learn that colored persons were treated with as much courtesy in England, France, Spain, &c. &c. as the white inhabitants; any more than I am to perceive the haughty disdain with which they are treated by those in this land whose republicanism and christianity permit them to defraud and brutalize millions of these sable victims with impunity.

Still, powerful as are well-authenticated facts, their impression deepens upon the mind by a visible exemplification to the eye. Hence, although I was prepared, on my arrival in England, to see colored men on terms of equality with the whites, yet the novelty of the spectacle called up involuntary surprise, as well as pleasurable emotion.

On attending public worship in the Rev. Dr. Raffles' church, I was positively conducted to an eligible seat in the broad aisle. In a few moments afterward, by a singular, and certainly to me a very agreeable coincidence,

a colored man was bowed into the same pew with as much courtesy as I had been : next came a fashionably dressed lady and gentleman, and soon the pew was completely occupied. Ah ! thought I, what an anomaly is this ! how it would disturb and annoy a religious congregation in republican America !—But here I perceive no repugnance, no hostility, no pushing into a remote corner, persons of a sable complexion. Have the people in England no eyes ? Can they not discriminate between white and black ? Why do they not shrink from a juxta-position like this ? Where is that aristocratic refinement and despotic taste, of which the democracy of my native country vaunts itself ? Are they not aware that ‘causes exist, and are operating, to prevent the improvement and elevation’ of black men, to any considerable extent, as a class, in England,—‘causes which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power ?’ Do they not know that ‘Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa ?’—that this is ‘an ordination of Providence, no more to be changed than the laws of Nature ?’ Thanks be to God, such barbarity finds no place in the hearts, such impiety dwells not on the lips, of this truly great and noble people. The black man has never been enslaved in England, and therefore the prejudice which arises, not from the color of the skin, but from the degradation of its victim, is not known. The services of the sanctuary seemed to acquire new interest—the spirit of the gospel to excel in amiability—and my soul to derive new strength. Here was demonstrative proof that no change of the skin, but only an end of slavery, is necessary to make the people of color in the United States respectable and happy.

Before I pass from this topic, I will anticipate the regular occurrence of similar incidents, by stating that in travelling in various parts of the kingdom, I found that colored persons were as readily admitted into the coaches as white persons ;—I met them in circles of refinement and gentility—at the tables of opulent and reputable individuals—on the platform in public meetings with the peers of the realm—as spectators in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords—arm-in-arm with gentlemen in the streets, &c. &c. Nay, while I was in London, a colored American (the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL) was united in wedlock to a white lady of respectability, talent and piety. What an uproar such an occurrence would create in this country !—Even in Massachusetts, the marriage would by law be null and void, and the clergyman performing it would be fined £50 !

Indeed, so far from prejudice against a colored complexion abounding in England, I often found it extremely difficult to make our trans-atlantic brethren credit my statements, respecting the persecution to which the colored people were subjected in the United States, on account of their color. It seemed, by the surprise and incredulity which they manifested in their countenances, as if they suspected me of indulging in playful exaggeration, or of exploring the whole extent of their credulousness. All such statements were perfectly astounding and inexplicable to them, be-

cause they saw nothing, even remotely, to confirm them in England. When I told them that in the United States, even in those parts where actual slavery does not exist, and where learning, intelligence and piety stand pre-eminent, a black man is not permitted to occupy a pew on the floor of a meeting-house, or to travel in a coach, or to enjoy any cabin privileges in a steam-boat; astonished, they would inquire, ‘*Why?*’ My answer invariably was—‘Because he is a *black* man.’ This I thought would solve the enigma, but it seemed only to add to their perplexity; for they would with great simplicity ask, ‘What of that?’ Truly, it is no good reason whatever; and I was happy to confess it, and to unite with them in deploring and execrating that brutal prejudice which is so diametrically opposed to brotherly love, and to all the injunctions of our holy religion. But that love and that religion shall yet conquer it, not only in this country, but throughout the world!

Having spent four days in Liverpool, in a manner so agreeable as to make me deeply regret my inability to return to it again, I took a seat in one of the rail-road cars, and was almost *too* impetuously conveyed to Manchester. Tarrying only a few hours in that dense and bustling city, I went from thence in a coach directly to London, and soon had the happiness of surveying that august abode of the congregated humanity of the world.*

As in duty bound, both by my instructions and my obligations of gratitude, I immediately called upon JAMES CROPPER, in Finsbury Circus, at whose hands I experienced the utmost hospitality and kindness, and from whose lips I received congratulations upon my arrival at the very crisis of the anti-slavery cause in England. He informed me that a large number of delegates, from various anti-slavery societies in the kingdom, were then in London, vigilantly watching the progress of the Abolition Bill through Parliament; that they took breakfast together every morning at the Guildhall Coffee House, and from thence adjourned to the anti-slavery rooms at No. 18, Aldermanbury, for the purpose of devising plans and discussing propositions for the accomplishment of their grand design; and that if I would attend, he would give me a general introduction.

My heart was full of gratitude to him for his kindness, and to God for ordering events in a manner so highly auspicious.

Accordingly, I was prompt in my attendance at the Coffee House the next morning. About sixty delegates were present, most of whom were members of the Society of Friends.† After the reading of a portion of

* As my object, in this Report, is to give as concise an account of my mission as will serve to develop its most important features, I shall purposely avoid all descriptions of the country, the habits of the people, &c. &c.

† It is remarkable that while the Friends in England have been the courageous pioneers, the undaunted standard-bearers, in the anti-slavery conflict, and have liberally expended their wealth, and given their time and talents, to achieve a victory more splendid than any yet recorded in the pages of history, those in this country, as a body, seem to have degenerated from their parent-stock, to have measurably lost their primitive spirit on the subject of slavery, and to have become ensnared by wicked prejudices, and by a cruel scheme to banish our colored population from their native to a foreign and barbarous land. There are many noble exceptions to this remark; and I am confident that ere long, the example of the Friends in England will stimulate the great mass of those who reside in this country to ‘go and do likewise.’

the Scriptures, breakfast was served up, at the close of which Mr. Cropper rose and begged leave to introduce to the company, William Lloyd Garrison, the Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, from America. He then briefly stated the object of my mission, and expressed a hope that I would be permitted, at a suitable opportunity, to lay my purposes more fully before them. This request was afterwards readily granted. They individually gave me a generous welcome, and evinced a deep interest to learn the state of public opinion in the United States, in relation to the subject of slavery and the merits of the American Colonization Society.

Having ascertained that Mr. Elliott Cresson, the Agent of that Society, was in London, I addressed the following letter to him :

'To Mr. Elliott Cresson, Agent of the American Colonization Society.

SIR—I affirm that the American Colonization Society, of which you are an Agent, is utterly corrupt and proscriptive in its principles ; that its tendency is to embarrass the freedom and diminish the happiness of the colored population of the United States ; and, consequently, that you are abusing the confidence and generosity of the philanthropists of Great Britain. As an American citizen, and the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I invite you to meet me in public debate in this city, to discuss the following

PROPOSITIONS.

1. The American Colonization Society was conceived, perfected, and is principally managed by those who retain a portion of their own countrymen as slaves and property.

2. Its avowed and exclusive object is, the colonization of the *free* people of color, in Africa, or *some other place*.

3. It is the active, inveterate, uncompromising enemy of immediate abolition, and deprecates the liberation of the slaves, except on condition of their being simultaneously transported to Africa.

4. It maintains that possessors of slaves, in the southern States, are not such from *choice* but *necessity* ; and that, of course, they are not, under present circumstances, blameworthy for holding millions of human beings in servile bondage.

5. Its tendency is, to increase the value of the slaves, to confirm the power of the oppressors, and to injure the free colored population, by whom it is held in abhorrence, wherever they possess liberty of speech and the means of intelligence.

6. It is influenced by fear, selfishness, and prejudice, and neither calls for any change of conduct on the part of the nation, nor has in itself any principle of reform.

7. Its mode of civilizing and christianizing Africa is preposterous and cruel, and calculated rather to retard than promote the moral and spiritual improvement of her benighted children.

These charges, Sir, are grave and vital. I dare you to attempt their refutation. Let them be taken up in their present order, and each discussed and decided upon separately. And may God prosper the right!

Yours, &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

18, *Addle-street, Aldermanbury, June 4, 1833.*

It will be perceived that I made the strongest allegations against the Society, and, therefore, that if they were in the least degree untrue, they would completely ensure my defeat, and give Mr. Cresson the victory.

Here let me premise two things:

1st. Nothing but the official authority with which he was clothed, elevated him to the level of my notice. Aside from his connexion with the Society which he represented, no independent position assumed by him could have attracted my attention, or challenged my resistance.

2d. As he had pre-occupied the ground in England nearly three years, and made his statements *ex parte*, I was not strictly obligated to invite him to a public debate; but I chose to do so, in order to epitomize the controversy, as I felt confident that he would advance my objects faster than I could myself.

To prevent any miscarriage of my letter, I entrusted it to my esteemed friend Mr. JOSEPH PHILLIPS, by whom it was presented to Mr. Cresson, who, in the most offensive manner, refused to receive it from Mr. Phillips. It was then tendered to him by Mr. WILLIAM HORSENAIL, of Dover, but he declined taking it, stating that arrangements had been made with Dr. HODGKIN and JOSEPH T. PRICE for an interview with me. Afterwards, it was presented a third time by Mr. JEREMIAH BARRETT, and again rejected. Mr. Cresson was finally induced to receive it from the hands of Mr. Phillips, in the presence of Messrs. J. T. Price and Emanuel Cooper. His answer to it was as follows:

‘Elliott Cresson wishes W. L. Garrison informed, in reply to his letter of the 4th, and note of to-day, that having agreed to follow the course which J. T. Price and Dr. Hodgkin should recommend, as to a private or public discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society, with reference to slavery in the U. S. and the slave trade in Africa—E. C. awaits their recommendation for the government of his conduct on the occasion. 6 mo. 6, 1833.’

On the receipt of the above note, I immediately addressed the following to the gentlemen selected by Mr. Cresson to save him from a public overthrow:

‘London, June 7, 1833.

Messrs. Price and Hodgkin:

Gentlemen—I have received, this morning, a note from Mr. Elliott Cresson, acknowledging the receipt of my letter to him of the 4th instant; in which he informs me ‘that having agreed to follow the course which J. T. Price and Dr. Hodgkin should recommend as to a private or public discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society, with reference to slavery in the United States and the slave trade in Africa, E. C. awaits their recommendation for the government of his conduct on the occasion.’

I wait to learn the course which you may recommend Mr. Cresson to adopt, as to my proposition to him for a public discussion. An answer this day, as so much time has already elapsed in this negociation, will much oblige

Yours, respectfully,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.’

A copy of the following letter was sent to Mr. Cresson and myself—

‘Guy’s Hospital, 2 o’clock, 7 of 6 mo. 1833.

To Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Elliott Cresson:

In reply to your notes to us, we recommend, that with a view to the advantage of you both, and to the cause of humanity, an interview between

you, in the presence of a few friends impartially chosen, would be desirable in the *first* instance—open to a more public discussion, should it *then* be deemed proper; but that this need not impede either of you from taking your own measures for giving publicity to your views as to the best mode of assisting the blacks.

We are your friends,

THOMAS HODGKIN,
JOSEPH T. PRICE.

I rejected this proposal for a private interview with Mr. Cresson, for two reasons—first, I saw it was a mere *ruse* on the part of Mr. C. and his friend Dr. Hodgkin, to obviate the necessity of a public meeting; and secondly, my business was exclusively with the British people, and with Mr. Cresson in his public capacity as the Agent of the American Colonization Society.

Having thus fairly and earnestly invited Mr. Cresson, by letter, to defend the Society which he represented, and finding that he shrunk from the offer, I addressed a letter to him in the *London Times*, repeating the challenge; but he was too pusillanimous, or too wary, to accept of it.

On Monday and Tuesday evenings, June 10th and 11th, I gave two public lectures, explanatory of the principles and tendencies of the American Colonization Society, in the Rev. Mr. Price's Chapel in Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate-street, the use of which was generously granted to me without any charge. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. took the chair. The audience was select and most respectable. Mr. Cresson, with a few friends, was in attendance at the first lecture. On my accusing him of having misrepresented the object of the Society, in asserting that it aimed at the abolition of slavery—

‘Mr. James Cropper, the Chairman, observed, that this was a grave charge to bring against a man, and as Elliott Cresson, the Agent, was present, he would call upon him to admit the charge or deny it, as he pleased. Did he ever make use of those words?’

Mr. Cresson.—What words?

The Lecturer repeated them.

Mr. Cresson.—Undoubtedly it is most true, certainly.

The Chairman.—This is not a meeting for discussion; but I thought it fair that Elliott Cresson should be allowed to rebut the charge if he thought it false.

Mr. George Thompson.—I saw some placards advertising a meeting issued by Mr. Cresson, and headed, ‘American Colonization Society, and the Abolition of Slavery.’ (Hear, hear.)

The Lecturer here handed a pamphlet to the Chairman, who, on opening it, said—I mentioned that this meeting was not intended for a discussion between two parties; but I did wish to give the person accused—because the charges are very grave—an opportunity of saying “Yes,” or “No.” The introduction of this pamphlet is signed by Elliott Cresson, who states that “the great object of the Colonization Society is, the final and entire abolition of slavery, by providing for the best interests of the blacks, and establishing them on the coast of Africa,” &c.

A Gentleman, who sat next to Mr. Cresson, rose and said, I think this is calculated to cause a discussion.

The Chairman.—I wish, when a charge is fairly brought against an individual, to give him an opportunity of denying it, if he can. (Hear.) We want discussion; we are anxious for discussion; because we believe until that Society is put down, there will be no progress made towards the abolition of slavery in the United States. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if Elliott Cresson wishes for discussion, we will have a meeting for that purpose, and we will hear what he has to say. (Hear.)"

It was very proper, on the part of my esteemed friend, Mr. CROPPER, to give Mr. CRESSON an opportunity to deny the truth of my assertion, if he could. The following extract from Mr. Cresson's Introduction to the report of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, for 1831, which was widely circulated in England, will show how grossly he attempted to impose upon the generous confidence of the British nation:

'The great objects of that Society were, **THE FINAL AND ENTIRE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**, providing for the best interests of the blacks, by establishing them in independence upon the coast of Africa, thus constituting them the protectors of the unfortunate native against the inhuman ravages of the slaver, and seeking, through them, to spread the lights of civilization and christianity among the fifty millions who inhabit those dark regions.'

As the proceedings of these meetings have been minutely laid before the public, through the medium of the *Liberator*, it is deemed unnecessary to swell this Report by their insertion. I beg leave, however, to introduce a few quotations from the eloquent speeches which were delivered on that occasion by **GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq.** and the **Rev. Mr. FRIER**. Mr. Thompson remarked—

'I was one of those persons who was deceived by the accredited Agent of the American Colonization Society; for I wrote to him, and put the question frequently as to the object of that institution, and he declared to me again and again that it was abolition. (Hear.) He also calumniated Mr. Garrison to me, and gave me such an account of him, that he made me regard him as a pest of society. There is another amiable individual whose character he injured, I mean Captain Charles Stuart; but I have discovered that his description of both these excellent men is foul slander; and step by step I have been convinced that the plan is bad; that the means used to carry it into operation are dishonest; and that the supporters of the Society, in this country at least, have been deceived. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Garrison has fully demonstrated the fiend-like design of the American Colonization Society. He has shown that its object is not the civilization of Africa—not the humanization of her wild inhabitants—but the annihilation of that connecting link between the free and enslaved population of the United States, which is constituted by the free people of color, lest, happily, the electric shock of freedom should be conveyed to the two millions of their wretched slaves; and, from the condition of brutes, they should spring up into the loftiness and dignity of immortal beings. (Applause.) What is the pretext of the Colonization Society for the course it is pursuing? It is, that there exists a prejudice too strong for humanity, legislation, and religion, to overcome. And shall this doctrine be preached in England, from whose shores a Morrison went forth to grapple single-

handed with the prejudices of China? Shall this doctrine be preached to the people of England, who sent forth a Henry Martyn, freighted with their prayers and their blessings, to wage war with the prejudice of India? Shall this doctrine be preached in England, who has her missionaries amongst the cannibals of New Zealand and the Caffres of South Africa? No. It may be cherished by miscreant Americans, but can never be received by a Christian-minded Briton. (Applause.) It is an impious doctrine. It is opposed to that faith which removes mountains. It defies the omnipotence of God. It libels that everlasting gospel which is to triumph over all the prejudices and superstitions of men, and all the abominations that defile the earth. If the influence which is now exerted to banish the men of color from America, were directed with equal energy, in a Christian spirit, to grapple with this prejudice, who is there who does not believe that Heaven would smile upon and bless such an effort? and, in seventeen years, instead of having to show a small colony on the coast of Africa, which, when described by its most partial friends, is contemptible in comparison with what might be achieved at home, they might point to prejudice and slavery expiring together, and call upon us to hail the dawning of a day of jubilee for two millions of slaves. (Cheers.)

The Rev. T. PRICE (an eminent Baptist clergyman of London) said—

‘It devolves upon me to state a negotiation which has been carried on, during the course of this meeting, and which I do in the presence of the gentleman who, on the part of Mr. Cresson, has conducted it, and who will correct my representation, if it be inaccurate in any point. I received, soon after I entered this place, the following communication from Mr. Cresson:—

‘Elliott Cresson presents his respects to the Rev. — Price, with his thanks for the offer made after E. C. left the chapel last evening, in order that he may be fairly and fully heard in defence of himself and the American Colonization Society. E. C. proposes the evening of the 14th inst., provided it meets the convenience of the Rev. Mr. Price.

Gth mo. 11, 1833.’

I requested to see the gentleman who brought the communication, and asked, whether Mr. Cresson referred to a discussion on Friday evening, or wished to deliver a lecture by himself? I was told that he did not contemplate a discussion, but wished to deliver a lecture, as Mr. Garrison had done. I at once stated, in reply, that I could not give the loan of my place for any such purpose. I should consider that whatever influence was associated with my name, as the minister of this place, amongst my own people, would in that case have been prostituted: for I am now constrained, by overwhelming evidence, to regard the Society as a most anti-Christian scheme. At the same time, I told the gentleman that the place was at the service of Mr. Cresson and Mr. Garrison, for a discussion on any evening of any day that they may fix. Inquired of the gentleman, whether Mr. Cresson could be communicated with, during the course of the lecture? He replied in the affirmative, and said that he would convey to him my opinion, and would bring back his reply. He had just returned, and has informed me that Mr. Cresson thinks it proper not to accept the offer on the terms proposed, but thinks that he ought to have it for the purpose of delivering an exposition of his own case. Now, with my present views of the Colonization Society, I could no more grant the use of this place for the delivery of a lecture advocating its interests, than I could for the publication of any other views, or the advocacy of any other system, however reprehensible it might be. I should have been happy, in past times, to have seen any discussion, in this place, between an advocate for abolition and an advocate of the West Indian system: but I would never

have given the use of the place for the delivery of a lecture by a *pro-slavery* man. On the same principle, I feel constrained to refuse its use for the delivery of a lecture by Mr. Cresson, who has declined it for a discussion. If my statement be not correct, the gentleman who has conducted the negotiation will state to the meeting any point in which I am inaccurate.

The Gentleman referred to, said the statement was perfectly correct.

The Rev. T. PRICE resumed. I think the meeting should be distinctly informed on this point, in order that there may be no misapprehension in future. Before I sit down, I would submit for your adoption a resolution. I should not do justice to my own feelings, and to the conviction of my judgment, if I did not propose something of this sort. I have admitted, with extreme reluctance, the convictions which at present possess my mind. There was a time, when I regarded the Colonization Society with feelings of admiration, and with thankfulness to God. I esteemed it as the dawn of better days for the sons of Africa. I beheld it as the germ of a system more comprehensive than itself, which should embrace not merely one portion of the American colored population, but whose ample fold should enclose all the section of the family of Africa included in the United States. Subsequent examination has served to satisfy my mind, that the system is based on an unrighteous and detestable principle, and that in its proceedings, and in the influence which it exerts upon all classes of American society, whether white, or black, or colored, it must indicate by its fruits the nature of its origin, and must add strongly to the amount of that sorrow which sin has created in our world. I formerly wrote on behalf of the Society, but I shall now feel bound to employ all my energies in opposition to it. I am sorry to observe that in the present number of the *Baptist Magazine* there has been some communication inserted from Mr. Cresson. I shall feel bound, as a member of that denomination, to put a paper in the next number, correcting, as far as I am able, its numerous misrepresentations (cheers.) The resolution which I have to propose is this :

Resolved, That this meeting, having attentively listened to the statements of Mr. Garrison, in support of his propositions, is of opinion that he has fully established their truth by evidence drawn from the Reports, and other publications of the American Colonization Society ; and therefore most earnestly entreats all the friends of civil and religious liberty to withhold their sanction and assistance from the said Society.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Defeated in his efforts to secure the confidence and approval of the English philanthropists, in relation to the American Colonization Society, Mr. Cresson now artfully exerted himself to organize a British Colonization Society which should co-operate, indirectly at least, with his darling association. For this purpose, he held a secret meeting with a few individuals, none of whom had ever acted with the abolition party ; the result of which was, the calling of a public meeting at Freemason Tavern, over which, it was ostentatiously announced, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex would preside. At this time, I was on a visit to Mr. WILBERFORCE, at Bath, a distance of about 100 miles from London. The following note from my watchful friend, CHARLES STUART, Esq. first apprised me that my presence was needed in the city :

‘ MY DEAR GARRISON :

If engaged at all seriously, so as to render returning to town imme-

diately *unadvisable*, do not come. But if not so engaged, *do* come up *immediately*, as, in such case, there is occasion for your presence.

Ever yours affectionately,

London, Wednesday, June 19.

C. STUART,

Having completed my interviews with Mr. WILBERFORCE, I immediately returned to London, and arrived there on the morning of the day which had been announced for the meeting. Punctual to the hour, I went to the meeting, accompanied by my friends Capt. STUART, JOSEPH PHILLIPS, WILLIAM HUME, Esq. of Dublin, and other gentlemen, expecting to find a large audience. Mr. Cresson and six or eight of his friends constituted the whole company in attendance, excepting those who went with me!—The Duke of Sussex was absent, and Mr. Cresson therefore moved that the meeting be adjourned!

As soon as I ascertained that, pursuant to adjournment, another meeting was to be held, I immediately transmitted the following letter to the Duke of Sussex:

To His Grace the Duke of Sussex: MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE—

I perceive by the *Times* of yesterday morning, that you are expected to preside at a meeting which is to be held at the Hanover Square Rooms, on Wednesday next, the 3d of July, the object of which is to give currency to the scheme of the American Colonization Society. I am sure that your Lordship is actuated by pure and benevolent motives, in thus consenting to occupy the chair on the occasion above alluded to; and just as sure that, if you can be satisfied that the Agent of that Society is imposing not only upon your generous confidence, but upon the British community, you will give no countenance to the proposed meeting. I affirm that Mr. Elliott Cresson is a deceiver; I have challenged him, in private and public, (vide the '*Times*' of this morning,) to meet me before a British assembly, in order to vindicate his own cause, and the Society of which he is the Agent. I further affirm that the American Colonization Society is corrupt in its principles, proscriptive in its measures, and the worst enemy of the free colored and slave population of the United States; and as an American citizen—as the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I hold myself in readiness to convince your Lordship of the truth of these charges, from the official documents of the American Colonization Society, if your Lordship will grant me the privilege of conferring with you a single hour between the receipt of this letter and Wednesday evening. As an individual whose life is dedicated to the cause of negro emancipation in the United States, and who has suffered much in its prosecution; and as the representative of the abolitionists of that country, I beseech your Lordship to grant me a private interview; or, at least, to make some further inquiries into the merits of the African Colonization enterprise, before you appear publicly in its support. Permit me to recommend T. F. Buxton, Z. Macaulay, and James Cropper, (who rank among the best friends of the colored race,) as gentlemen who will satisfy you of my official character, and of the design and tendency of the American Colonization Society. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Grace's obd't serv't,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

18, Aldermanbury, June 28, 1834.

To the above letter, no answer was returned.

Notwithstanding the indefatigable efforts which were made to collect a large assembly on this occasion, not more than one hundred and twenty persons were present, one third of whom were on the platform by special invitation, and another third were abolitionists, opposed to the object of the meeting. Let it be remembered that this was the *third* attempt to get up a meeting for the formation of a British Colonization Society; and, although the Duke of Sussex and Lord Bexley were present, yet out of a population of a million and a half, only 120 individuals were in attendance!! It was a total failure; and the attempt in this country, by the friends of African Colonization, to magnify its importance, is in the highest degree ludicrous. It was addressed, at some length, by Mr. Cresson, who was forced to declare (as did every other speaker) that it had no connection whatever with the American Colonization Society, neither approving nor disapproving of its principles and measures. The Duke of Sussex, Lord Bexley, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Lieut. Rosenberg, and T. Crawford, Esq. also addressed the meeting in favor of a British Society. In opposition to the project, the venerable and eminent philanthropist, ZACHARY MACAULAY, GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. and Capt. CHARLES STUART, spoke in the most impressive and eloquent manner. The tone of the discussion was vehement, and even boisterous, but only a partial hearing was given to the abolitionists. I endeavored to show, by a simple statement of facts, that it was a delusion to think of suppressing the foreign slave trade by means of colonies on the African coast, while slavery—or, in other words, the market for slaves—was suffered to exist in any part of the world. T. Crawford, Esq. having offered a resolution, to the effect, that a Society be formed under the name of the British African Colonization Society, for the purpose of abolishing the slave trade, and diffusing the benefits of civilization and religion among the natives of Africa—George Thompson, Esq. proposed an amendment—to wit, that there was no necessity for forming such a Society. On dividing the assembly, there were against the amendment 33—for it, 26—majority against it, 7!!—The original resolution was then put and carried—and thus ended the farce. Had a very trifling effort been made, a thousand abolitionists could have been mustered on the occasion, in a few hours, to crush the proceedings of the meeting.

Here it is pertinent to remark, that, with a single exception, not an abolitionist was seen on the platform, or gave any countenance to the project. The real friends of African freedom and civilization received no invitations to attend the meeting. Mr. Buxton, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. O'Connell, and all the other distinguished champions of the colored race, were overlooked by Mr. Cresson: he was associated with another party, and surrounded himself with other men, who cherished the feeblest desires for the abolition of colonial slavery.

In order to counteract, and effectually nullify, this impudent attempt to impose upon the credulity of the British nation, and also to terminate the controversy on the merits of the American Colonization Society, a public

meeting was held at Exeter Hall on the 13th of July, at which two thousand persons were present. Never was a more highly respectable assembly convened in London. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. took the chair. The proceedings of that memorable meeting have been extensively spread before the American people, and therefore it is unnecessary to insert them here. To that noble patriot DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. and to GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., REV. NATHANIEL PAUL, of Wilberforce Settlement in Upper Canada, J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., J. C. EVANS, Esq., and the Chairman, I am under heavy obligations for the powerful support which they rendered me on that occasion. Their speeches, reported in full, are before the public.

Previous to the meeting, I transmitted the following epistolary invitation to the Duke of Sussex :

18, ALDERMANBURY, July 13, 1833.

May it please your Royal Highness :

The enclosed Circular and Ticket will inform you that a meeting is to be held to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, at Exeter Hall, for the purpose of exposing the real character and object of the American Colonization Society. Although your Royal Highness generously declared, at the meeting in the Hanover Square Rooms, that you regarded the Agent of that Society as a gentleman who was above attack : yet, with the utmost deference to the opinion of your Royal Highness, it is possible that he may not be impeccable. Many great and good men, who, a few months since, were captivated by his fanciful and false statements, are now led, by a careful investigation of the subject, to regard him as a public deceiver. Surely, there is no one more disposed to weigh evidence and examine facts than your Royal Highness ; especially in a case so momentous as the present. If your Royal Highness could make it convenient to honor the meeting to-morrow with your presence, I should not only regard the act as exceedingly magnanimous, but it would unquestionably be a source of sincere pleasure to the auditors.

In my note of the 29th ultimo, I addressed your Royal Highness by the title of 'Your Grace.' As the error, though trivial in itself, might seem to imply intentional disrespect, I must here apologize for the same. An American citizen, in Europe, is ever liable to err, through ignorance, in the application of hereditary titles, as they do not obtain in his own country.

I am confident that your Royal Highness will most cheerfully pardon the blunder.

With sentiments of the highest respect for the benevolence and goodness of your character, I am Your Obed't Serv't,

(Signed) WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
Representative of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

To this letter, also, no answer was returned, and therefore I am under no special obligations to the courtesy of royalty.

On the 19th of June, it was my privilege to be introduced to the venerable WILBERFORCE in Bath. He gave me a very gracious reception, as did also his excellent lady and son. I spent about three hours in his company, during which time his cautious and active mind was very inquisitive on the subject of slavery in the United States, and particularly in reference to the American Colonization Society. I endeavored to communicate, as briefly and clearly as possible, all the prominent facts relating to our great

controversy. In expressing to him the grief which was felt by American abolitionists, and particularly by our free colored population, in seeing the name of WILBERFORCE enrolled among the friends of the Colonization Society, he said that his commendation of the enterprise had been restricted to the colony at Liberia; that, relying upon the information which Mr. Cresson had given him respecting the flourishing condition of that colony, he had been induced to believe that it was aiding essentially in the civilization of benighted Africa; that he never regarded the Society as providing a remedy for slavery; that he viewed with abhorrence the doctrine of the Society, denying the practicability of elevating the colored race in the United States to an equality with the whites; and that he had repeatedly contested that wicked position with Mr. Cresson, and told him that he considered it fundamentally false and unchristian. He expressed much anxiety to learn how far Mr. Cresson had made use of his name to give currency to the Society, and desired his son to write down the following queries as he dictated them:

‘1. How far has Mr. Elliott Cresson made use of Mr. Wilberforce’s name? Has he merely stated that Mr. Wilberforce approved of the *colony* as calculated to benefit *Africa*; or has he said that Mr. Wilberforce approves of the *principle* of the SOCIETY—namely, that the blacks ought to be removed *for the advantage of America, as well as for their own*?’

2. Did Mr. Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr. Wilberforce’s sentiments, that the two classes MIGHT AND OUGHT TO LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?’

3. Has Mr. Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a *sine qua non* of *emancipation*?’

These queries were given to me to make such use of them as I might think proper.

At his urgent solicitation, I visited him the next morning, and sat down with him and his family to breakfast, which was served up in patriarchal simplicity. After an interview of about five hours,—too delightful and too important ever to be forgotten by me,—I bade him farewell, expressing my fervent wishes for a long continuance of his valuable life, and my hope to meet him in that world of glory, where change, and decay, and separation, are unknown. I impressed upon his mind, tenderly and solemnly, the importance of his bearing public testimony against the American Colonization Society, if he was satisfied that its claims to the confidence and patronage of the British nation were preposterous and illusory: especially as he was constantly quoted as the friend and advocate of the Society. ‘I offer you,’ I said, ‘no documents or pamphlets in opposition to the Society, upon which to form an opinion of its true character. Here are its Fifteenth and Sixteenth Reports: the former contains an elaborate defence of the Society

by its managers, which, in my opinion, is alone sufficient to seal its destiny. Read it at your leisure, and, judging the Society out of its own mouth, let your verdict be given to the world.'

Immediately after the meeting at Exeter Hall, I rode to Ipswich to see THOMAS CLARKSON, accompanied by my esteemed friend, the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL. Here it is proper to state in what manner the mind of this venerable philanthropist became so strongly impressed in favor of the Colonization Society and of Liberia. It happens that the individual, who, of all others in England, exerts the most influence over Clarkson's mind, is the main pillar of Mr. Cresson's support—namely, RICHARD DYKES ALEXANDER, a wealthy and respectable member of the Society of Friends. As Clarkson has entirely lost his sight, this gentleman reads and answers many of his letters, and is emphatically his mouth-piece. He has therefore acquired a powerful control over the judgment, and secured the entire confidence of Clarkson. Mr. Cresson succeeded most effectually in duping Alexander, and Alexander in misleading Clarkson. Care was taken, both by Mr. Alexander and Mrs. Clarkson, to read chiefly to the sightless philanthropist, those statements which served to represent the Colonization Society and Liberia in glowing colors, and to place their opposers in a disgraceful attitude. Under these circumstances, little authority or value ought to be attached to his opinions in favor of the Society and its colony.

On arriving at Ipswich, we found that we could easily gain access to Clarkson, only through the medium of Alexander—of him whose mind we knew was strongly prejudiced against us both, in consequence of the flagrant misrepresentations of Mr. Cresson. But we did not hesitate to call upon him, and state the object of our visit to Ipswich. He treated us politely; and as Clarkson resided at Playford Hall, a distance of two or three miles from the town, he offered to postpone another engagement which he had made, and accompany us in his carriage.

The retreat, chosen by the aged friend of the colored race in which to spend his few remaining years on earth, we found to be very beautiful. On alighting at his door, Mr. Paul and myself, at the request of Mr. Alexander, strolled about the serpentine paths of the park, while he went in to ascertain whether Clarkson's health would permit an interview at that time—as, a few days before, he had injured one of his legs severely against the shaft of his carriage. In about twenty minutes we were called into the house, and were met by Clarkson totteringlly supported by Mr. Alexander. His mind was evidently full of distress: my own was deeply affected, almost beyond the utterance of words. In taking me by the hand, he observed—'I cannot see your face—I have now wholly lost my sight—but ——' and here his emotion overpowered his feelings—'I believe I have lost it in a good cause.' My introductory remarks were few and simple. A burden of gratitude for his noble services in the cause of bleeding humanity, and of sympathy for his present affecting condition, pressed mightily upon my soul, which I earnestly desired to throw off by the power of

speech ; but, lest it might seem like premeditated flattery and artful condolence, I was awed into silence.

He immediately began on the subject of colonization ; and, with a vividness of memory which surprised me, minutely stated the substance of all his conversations with Mr. Cresson from their first interview, and the circumstances which had led him to give his sanction to the Colonization Society. He had never regarded that Society as capable, in itself, of effecting the abolition of slavery in the United States, but only as an auxiliary to its abolition. Did he suppose that compulsion, either directly or indirectly, was used to effect the removal of the free people of color and such as were liberated from bondage, he should deprecate the measure as unspeakably cruel and wicked. Finding that his approval of the Society was regarded with grief by many of his dearest friends, in whose opinions he could not unite as to its evil character,—and in order to obtain that repose of mind which his bodily infirmities imperiously demanded,—he had resolved to occupy neutral ground, and did not wish to be ranked on either side of the controversy. He saw no reason to change his decision.

Having listened to him with becoming deference, I spared no pains to correct the erroneous views which he had formed—beginning with the origin of the Society, and tracing it through all its ramifications ; explaining its direful tendencies to corrupt the public mind, obscure the moral vision of the people, inflame their prejudices, deceive their hopes, and sear their consciences—and to perpetuate, by pruning, an overgrown system of oppression. I showed him that it was cruel mockery to say that the persecuted and oppressed exiles to Liberia had gone with their own consent, cheerfully and voluntarily ; that the doctrines of the Society were abhorrent and impious ; that it was the enemy not merely of the colored race, but of all genuine abolitionists ; that good men who had taken it upon trust, on ascertaining its real purposes, were abandoning it in crowds, and using mighty exertions to overthrow it ; and that all its doctrines, measures, and designs, were evil, and only evil continually. I also endeavored to convince him that he did not occupy neutral ground, but that he was every where, both in England and in the United States, regarded as the unfaltering friend of the Society ; and that, until he publicly requested to be considered as neither approving nor opposing the Society, he could not possibly be neutral in this great controversy.

The Rev. Mr. Paul also appealed to him in the most solemn and pathetic manner, and stated in what light the Society was universally regarded by his colored brethren, and in what manner it was operating to their injury. His disclosures seemed powerfully to agonize the mind of the venerable man, and sincerely did we pity him.

After an interview of about four hours, we took our leave of him, lamenting that he should still feel it to be his duty to occupy what he considered neutral ground.*

* A more minute account of Mr. Garrison's visit to Wilberforce and Clarkson will appear in the *Liberator*

A short time after this visit, I unexpectedly received, to my exceeding joy, from a distinguished member of Parliament, duplicate copies of the Protest against the American Colonization Society, signed by WILBERFORCE and eleven of the most distinguished abolitionists in Great Britain, which has fallen like a thunderbolt upon the Society, and riven it in twain. In getting up this Protest, I had no agency whatever. It was altogether unexpected by me; but to obtain it was alone worth a trip across the Atlantic.

Having now effectually succeeded in routing Mr. Cresson and crushing his darling scheme: having obtained the acquaintance and secured the friendship of the leading friends of the colored race; having received, from various sources, large quantities of anti-slavery publications for gratuitous distribution in the United States; and having been advised to postpone any pecuniary appeals at that juncture, in consequence of the feverish state of the public mind in relation to the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies, but assured of liberal assistance on the termination of the anti-slavery struggle in England: I deemed my presence no longer needed, and accordingly took passage in the ship *Hannibal*, Capt. Hebard, at London, and arrived at New-York on the 2d of October, having been absent precisely five months from the time of my embarkation.

